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“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

“A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN WEST-ERN AFRICA, AND THE REMEDIAL INFLUENCE OF COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.”

The above is the title of a neat pamphlet of, about 40 pages, published in Boston, from the pen of the Rev. Joseph Tracy, Secretary of the Massachusetts Colonization Society. We commence the republication of it, and most earnestly commend it to the attention of our readers.

Part I. we conceive very important, not only from its abstract merit, containing as it does a common sense view of the subject, but in consideration of the source whence it emanates. The orthodoxy of the writer certainly cannot be doubted, and his knowledge and deep interest in all, appertaining to Foreign Missions is proverbial. We wish our good friends who have questioned the beneficial influence of Colonization upon African Missions, would *read and reflect*.

COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.

PART I. *The question stated.—Proceedings of Missionary Boards and Colonial Governments.—Charges against the Government of American Colonies at an end.—Charges against the Moral Influence of the Colonists as Individuals, and Mode of meeting them.*

“If the experiment, in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast and unnumbered tribes yet obscured in primeval darkness, reclaim the rude wanderer from a life of wretchedness to civilization and humanity, and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstitions to the holy charities, the sublime morality and humanizing discipline of the gospel, the nation or the individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benevolent enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race, unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of divine beneficence.”

Such was the language addressed by the American Colonization Society to the Congress of the United States, in a memorial presented two weeks after the formation of the Society. To the hope which these words express, we are indebted for a large and valuable part of countenance and aid which we have received. For some years past, however, this hope has

been pronounced a delusion. Men who strenuously contend that the colored people of this country are fit for social equality and intercourse with our white population, assert, not very consistently, that when settled in Africa, they corrupt the morals of the idolatrous natives, and actually impede the progress of civilization and Christianity.

These assertions have had the greater influence, because they have been thought to be corroborated by the representations of American Missionaries, laboring for the conversion of the heathen in and around the colonial possessions. These missionaries, it is said, represent the colonies, or the colonists, or something connected with colonization, as serious obstacles to the success of their labors. In this way, some of our former friends have been led to disbelieve, and still greater numbers to doubt, the utility of our labours. The interests of the Society, therefore, and of the colony, and of Africa, and of Christianity, demand an investigation of the subject.

It would be easier to meet these charges, if we could ascertain exactly what they are. But this has hitherto proved impracticable. Common fame has reported, that the missionaries of the American, the Presbyterian, and the Protestant Episcopal Boards at Cape Palmas, united, some time in 1842, in joint representation of their respective Boards, containing serious charges of the nature above mentioned.* It was reported also, that this document was confidential; and that, for this reason, and especially as three Boards and their missionaries were interested in it, no one Board had a right to divulge its contents. As this was said to be the principal document on the subject, and to contain the substance of all the rest, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, at an early date, applied to the Secretaries of those three Boards for a copy, or at least for the perusal of it; but the request was not granted. We do not charge this refusal upon the Secretaries as a fault, or even as a mistake. We only mention it as the occasion of a serious inconvenience to us. It has also been reported, that about the same time, a certain pastor received a letter from one of those missionaries, which was confidential in this sense; that it might be circulated from hand to hand, and used in various ways to our prejudice, but must not be printed nor copied. This report of its character, of course, precluded any application for a copy.

Now, how can any man answer a report, that some or all of several very respectable persons three thousand miles off, have said something to his disadvantage? A man may be seriously injured by such a report; but in ordinary cases, he must bear the injury as best he may, and "live down" its influence if he can. In order to reply, he needs to know authentically who his accusers are, and what things they testify against them.

Let us see, however, whether industry and a good cause may not extricate us, even from a difficulty like this. We may learn something of the grounds of complaint, from the proceedings of the Boards of Missions; and we may learn from common fame, what common fame has led people to suspect. From all that we have heard, the complaints appear to be of two classes; those which relate to the action of the colonial governments, and

*Some have received the erroneous impression, that all the American missionaries in Liberia united in this representation. In fact, no missionary in any part of Liberia Proper,—that is none in any place under the care of the American Colonization Society,—had any concern in it, or any knowledge of it. The nearest station occupied by any of its reputed signers, was ninety miles beyond the southernmost settlement of Liberia Proper. Some of them had spent a few days at Monrovia as visitors; but for their knowledge of any settlement except Cape Palmas, they were almost wholly dependent on hearsay. Their representations concerning the other settlements, if they made any, are therefore of little value, and no official action has been founded on them.

those which relate to the influence of the colonists as individuals. We will consider them in their order.

Several years since, there was a controversy between the colonial government of Liberia and the superintendent of the Methodist Mission there, growing out of a dispute concerning duties on goods, imported by the superintendent for the purpose of trade. But that whole matter was soon settled. Another superintendent was sent out; and since his death, the first has gone back, with express instructions to avoid his former errors. It is not known that the government of Liberia has ever had any other collision with any missionary, or missionary society.

It appears from the Report of the American Board for 1842, that the missionaries complained, and, as the Board thought, with reason, of several laws of the Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, where the mission was located. It has been understood, that the other Boards which had missions there, entertained substantially the same views of those laws.

To this it is a sufficient reply, that we have nothing to do with Cape Palmas. The colony there is a distinct colony, with a government of its own. It was planted, and is sustained, by the Maryland Colonization Society, which is not a branch of the American, nor auxiliary to it, nor any way connected with it or under its influence. To bring a charge against our colony on account of the laws of Cape Palmas, is as unjust as it would be to blame the government of England for the laws of France. But this difficulty, too, has been settled. A few words will explain its origin and its termination.—It was from the beginning the policy of that colony, as of ours, not to exterminate or expel the natives, but to amalgamate them and the colonists into one people. The missions at Cape Palmas, however, were commenced as missions to the heathen natives, and not to the colonists. They therefore had a tendency to raise up a native interest, distinct from that of the colonists; to keep the two classes separate, and make them rivals to each other, instead of uniting them as one people. In this respect, the policy of the missions was in direct conflict with that of the colony; and this was the true source of the conflict of opinion and feeling. The case may be better understood, by viewing it in contrast with the Methodist mission in Liberia. That mission is not sent to the heathen exclusively, but to all the inhabitants of the territory on which they labour. Of course, all who come under its influence, colonists or natives, are drawn to the same religious meetings; all are gathered into the same churches; or, if children, brought into the same schools. The whole influence of the mission goes to make natives and colonists one people, and thus coincides with the policy of the colony. The contrary policy at Cape Palmas naturally led to alienation of feeling, and to acts of both the government and the missionaries, which were mutually unpleasant, and some of which appear to have been unjustifiable. The mission of the American Board was removed, for this and other reasons, to the Gaboon river; and that of the Presbyterian Board to Settra Krou, in Liberia Proper.* That of the Episcopal Board was continued and strengthened, and has made peace by avoiding the original cause of dissension. The Report of that Board for the year 1844, says:—"The relations between the colonists and the missionaries at Cape Palmas during the past year appear to have been of a friendly character; and as the desire of the latter to promote, so far as in them lies, the moral and religious interests of the colonists becomes more and more apparent, it is believed that no obstacles to the beneficial influence of the mission will be interposed." This is a very explicit statement, not only of the fact, that in the judgment of the

* Error.—No Mission was ever established at Cape Palmas by the "Presbyterian Board," technically so called, it was *commenced* at Settra Krou.

Episcopal Board, no such "obstacles" *now* exist, or are expected to exist hereafter, but of the change which has led to their removal.

At present, therefore, the government of Cape Palmas, as well as that of Liberia, stands unaccused and unsuspected of any hostile bearing upon the cause of missions.

The charge against the influence of individual colonists is less easily ascertained, and therefore less easily met; but by a somewhat diligent inquiry, we believe that we know, very nearly, the substance of it. According to our best information, it is not denied that a larger proportion of the colonists are regular communicants in the churches, than in almost any other community in the world; nor is it pretended that Sabbath-breaking, profaneness, or intemperance are very prevalent. It is said, however, that most of their religion is mere animal excitement; that many of the communicants are self-deceived, or hypocrites; that cases of church discipline for immorality are numerous; that many of the colonists are lazy and improvident; that some make hard bargains with the natives; that many of them feel no interest in the conversion or improvement of the native population; that they neglect the instruction of hired labourers from native families; that, by the practice of various immoralities, they bring reproach upon Christianity; and finally, that their children are more difficult to manage in school, than the children of the natives.

Now, to a certain extent, all this is doubtless true. The world never saw, and probably never will see, a christian community so pure, that such complaints against it would be wholly false. That the misconduct of Christians brings reproach upon the gospel and is a hindrance to the progress of piety, is a standing topic of lamentation, even in the most religious parts of New England; and who doubts that, in a certain sense, there is some truth in it? Much more may we expect it to be true among a people whose opportunities for improvement have been no better than the Liberians have enjoyed. We readily concede, that these complaints have too much foundation in facts.

But who, that understands Africa, would, on this account, pronounce the colony a hindrance to the progress of Christian piety, morality, and civilization? It cannot be, that those who make such objections, or those who yield to them, know what that part of the world was, before the influence of the colony was felt there. Let that be once understood, and the thought that a colony of free coloured people from this country *could* demoralize the natives, or render the work of missions among them more difficult will be effectually banished. Let us inquire, then, what Western Africa was when first known to Europeans: what influences have since been operating there; what effects those influences are known to have produced; what was the character of the country when the colony was first planted; and what changes have resulted from its existence.

In pursuing this inquiry, we must gather our facts from the whole coast of Upper Guinea, extending from the mouth of the Senegal to the Bight of Benin; for, with partial exceptions among the Muhammedan tribes near the Senegal, the people are substantially one; the same in their physical character, their government, their social condition, their superstitions, manners, and morals; and the same influences have been at work among them all. In the middle portion, extending from Sierra Leone to Elmina and including Liberia, this identity of original character and modifying influence is most complete, and illustrations taken from any part of it, are commonly applicable to the whole. The correctness of these remarks will be more manifest as we proceed.

PART II. Discovery of Guinea.—Rise, Progress and Influence of the Slave Trade.—Prevalence and Influence of Piracy.—Character of the Natives before the influence of Colonization was felt.

We shall not dwell upon the full length portraits of negroes on Egyptian monuments three thousand years old, because their interpretation might be disputed; though their dress, their attitudes, their banjos, and every indication of character, show that they were then substantially what they are now. We shall pass over Ethiopian slaves in Roman and Carthaginian history; because it might be difficult to prove that they came from the region under consideration. We will begin with Ibn Haukal, the Arabian Geographer, who wrote while the Saracen Omniades ruled in Spain, and before the founding of Cario in Egypt; that is, between A. D. 992 and 968.

Ibn Haukal very correctly describes the "land of the blacks," as an extensive region, with the Great Desert on the North, the coast of the ocean to the South, and not easily accessible, except from the West; and as inhabited by people whose skins are of a finer and deeper black than that of any other blacks. He mentions the trade from the land of the blacks, through the Western part of the Great Desert, to Northern Africa, in gold and slaves; which found their way thence to other Muhammedan regions. "The white slaves," he says, "come from Andulus," [Spain] "and damsels of great value, such as are sold for a thousand dinars, or more."*

Ibn-Batuta, of Tangier, after returning from his travels in the east, visited Tombuctoo and other Muhammedan places on the northern border of the negro country in 1352. The pagans beyond them enslaved each other, sold each other to the Muhammedans, or were enslaved by them, as has been done ever since. Some of them, he learned, were cannibals; and when one of the petty monarchs sent an embassy to another, a fatted slave, ready to be killed and eaten, was a most acceptable present.

Of Christian nations, the French claim the honour of first discovering the Coast of Guinea. It is said that the records of Dieppe, in Normandy, show an agreement of certain merchants of that place and Rouen, in the year 1365, to trade to that coast. Some place the commencement of that trade as early as 1346. Having traded along the Grain Coast, and made establishments at Grand Sesters and other places, they doubled Cape Palmas, explored the coast as far as Elmina, and commenced a fortress there in 1383. In 1387, Elmina was enlarged, and a chapel built. The civil wars about the close of that century were injurious to commerce. In 1413, the company found its stock diminishing, and gradually abandoned the trade, till only their estab-

* This expression must not be taken too strictly. Sicily also furnished many Christian slaves, and others were obtained from other parts of Europe. Since the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the Muhammedans of Northern Africa have been able to obtain but few Christian slaves, except by piracy. They however continued to do what they could. Their corsairs, principally from Algiers on the Barbary coast and Salee on the Western coast of Morocco, seized the vessels and enslaved the crews of all Christian nations trading in those seas. To avoid it, nearly, if not quite, all the maritime nations of Christendom paid them annual tribute. The United States, we believe, was the first nation that refused to pay this tribute; and this refusal led to wars with Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers. Several of the European powers have since followed our example. In 1815, the Emperor of Morocco stipulated by treaty, that British subjects should no longer be made slaves in his dominions. Several of the southern powers of Europe still pay this tribute; and while we have been preparing these pages for the press, negotiations have been going on with Morocco, for releasing one or two of the northern powers from its payment. At this day, the Turks and Persians obtain "black slaves" from the interior of Africa, by the way of Nubia and Egypt, and by sea from Zelia and Berbera, near the outlet of the Red Sea, and from the Zanzibar coast. According to Sir T. F. Buxton, this branch of the slave trade consumes 100,000 victims annually, half of whom live to become serviceable. White slaves, mostly "damsels of great value," they procure from Circassia and other regions around Mount Caucasus.

lishment on the Senegal was left. There are some circumstances which give plausibility to this account; yet it is doubted by some writers, even in France, and generally disbelieved or neglected by others.

The account of the discovery by the Portuguese is more authentic; and its origin must be narrated with some particularity.

During the centuries of war between the Christians of Spain and their Moorish invaders and oppressors, an order of knights was instituted, called "The Order of Christ." Its object was, to maintain the war against the Moors, and also "to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion." To this, the knights were consecrated by a solemn vow. Henry of Loraine was rewarded for his services in these wars with the gift of Portugal, and of whatever else he should take from the Moors. Under his descendants Portugal became a kingdom; and John I., having expelled or slaughtered the last of the Moors in his dominions, passed into Africa and took Ceuta in 1415. He was attended in this expedition by his son, Henry, Duke of Viseo, and Grand Master of the Order of Christ. Henry distinguished himself during the seige; remained sometime in Africa to carry on the war, and learned that beyond the Great Desert were the country of the Senegal and the Jaloffs. With the double design of conquering infidels and finding a passage to India by sea, having already pushed his discoveries to Cape Bojador, he obtained a bull from Pope Martin V., granting to the Portuguese an exclusive right in all the islands they already possessed, and also in all territories they might in future discover, from Cape Bojador to the East Indies. The Pope also granted a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering the nations of those regions to Christ and his church. And certainly, few indulgences have been granted to souls that had more need of them.

The Portuguese laity were at first averse to an enterprise which appeared rash and useless; but the clergy rose up in its favor, and bore down all opposition. Ships were fitted out, and after some failures, Gilianez doubled Cape Bojador in 1432. In 1434, Alonzo Gonzales explored the coast for thirty leagues beyond. In 1435, he sailed along twenty-four leagues further. In an attempt to seize a party of natives, some were wounded on both sides. In 1440, Antonio Gonzales made the same voyage, seized about ten of the natives, all Moors, and brought them away.* Nunno Tristan discovered Cape Blanco. In 1442, Antonio Gonzales returned to the coast, and released one of the Moors formerly carried away, on his promise to pay seven Guinea slaves for his ransom. The promise was not fulfilled; but two other Moors ransomed themselves for several blacks of different countries and some gold dust. The place was hence called Rio del Oro, (Gold River,) and is nearly under the Tropic of Cancer. In 1443, Nunno Tristan discovered Arguin, and caught 14 blacks. In 1444, Gilianez and others, in six caravels, seized 195 blacks, most of whom were Moors, near Arguin, and were well rewarded by their prince. In 1445, Gonzales de Cintra, with seven of his men, were killed 14 leagues beyond Rio del Oro, by 200 Moors. In 1446, Antonio Gonzales was sent to treat with the Moors at Rio del Oro, concerning peace, commerce, and their conversion to Christianity. They refused to treat. Nunno Tristan brought away 20 slaves. Denis Fernandez passed by the Senegal, took four blacks in a fishing boat, and discovered Cape Verde. In 1447, Antonio Gonzales took 25 Moors near Arguin, and took 55 and killed others at Cape Blanco. Da Gram took 54 at Arguin, ran eight leagues further and took 50 more, losing seven men. Lancelot and others, at various places, killed many and took about 180, of whom 20, being allies

*The common statement, that the first slaves were brought home by *Alonzo* Gonzales, in 1434, appears to be an error.

treacherously seized, were afterwards sent back. Nunno Tristan entered the Rio Grande, where he and all his men but four were killed by poisoned arrows. Alvaro Fernandez, 40 leagues beyond, had two battles with the natives in one of which he was wounded. Gilianez and others were defeated with the loss of five men at Cape Verde, made 48 slaves at Arguin, and took two women and killed seven natives at Palma. Gomez Perez, being disappointed in the ransom of certain Moors at Rio del Oro, brought away 80 slaves.

Thus far from Portuguese historians. Next, let us hear the accounts which voyagers give of their own doings and discoveries. The oldest whose works are extant, and one of the most intelligent and trustworthy, is Aluise de Cada Mosto, a Venetian in the service of Portugal.

Cada Mosto sailed in 1455. He found the people around Cape Blanco and Arguin, Muhammedans. He calls them Arabs. They traded with Barbary, Tombucto and the negroes. They get from ten to eighteen negroes for a Barbary horse. From 700 to 800 annually are brought to Arguin and sold to the Portuguese. Formerly, the Portuguese used to land by night, surprise fishing villages and country places, and carry off Arabs. They had also seized some of the Azenaghi, who are a tawny race, north of Senegal, and who make better slaves than the negroes; but, as they are not confirmed Muhammedans, Don Henry had hopes of their conversion, and had made peace with them. South of the Senegal are the Jaloffs, who are savages, and extremely poor. Their king lives by robbery, and by forcing his subjects and others into slavery. He sells slaves to the Azenaghi, Arabs and Christians. Both sexes are very lascivious, and they are exceedingly addicted to sorcery. A little south of Cape Verde, he found negroes who would suffer no chief to exist among them, lest their wives and children should be taken and sold for slaves, "as they are in all other negro countries, that have kings and lords." They use poisoned arrows; "are great idolaters, without any law, and extremely cruel." Further on, he sent on shore a baptized negro as an interpreter, who was immediately put to death. He entered the Gambia, and was attacked by the natives in 15 canoes. After a battle, in which one negro was killed, they consented to a parley. They told him they had heard of the dealings of white men on the Senegal; knew that they bought negroes only to eat; would have no trade with them, but would kill them and give their goods to their king. He left the river and returned. The next year he entered the Gambia again, and went up about 40 miles. He staid eleven days, made a treaty with Battimansa, bought some slaves of him, and left the river because the fever had seized his crew. He found some Muhammedan traders there; but the people were idolaters, and great believers in sorcery. They never go far from home by water, for fear of being seized as slaves. He coasted along to the Kassamansa and Rio Grande; but finding the language such as none of his interpreters could understand, returned to Portugal.

In 1461, the Portuguese began to take permanent possession, by erecting a fort at Arguin.

In 1462, Piedro de Cintra discovered Sierra Leone, Gallinas river, which he called Rio del Fumi, because he saw nothing but smoke there,—Cape Mount, and Cape Mesurado, where he saw many fires among the trees, made by the negroes who had sight of the ships, and had never seen such things before. Sixteen miles farther along the coast, a few natives came off in canoes, two or three in each. They were all naked, had some wooden darts and small knives, two targets and three bows: had rings about their ears and one in the nose, and teeth strung about their necks, which seemed to be human. Such is our earliest notice of what is now Liberia. The teeth

were those of slaughtered enemies, worn as trophies. The account of this voyage was written by Cada Mosto.

In 1463, Don Henry died, and the Guinea trade, which had been his property, passed into the hands of the king. He farmed it, for five years, to Fernando Gomez, for 500 ducats, and an obligation to explore 500 additional leagues of coast. In 1471, Juan de Santerem and Pedro de Escobar explored the Gold Coast, and discovered Rio del Oro del Mina, that is, Gold Mine River, which afterwards gave name to the fortress of Elmina.

In 1481, two Englishmen, John Tintam and William Fabian, began to fit out an expedition to Guinea; but John II. of Portugal sent two ambassadors to England, to insist on his own exclusive claims to that country, and the voyage was given up.

The same year, the king of Portugal sent ten ships, with 500 soldiers and 100, or as some say, 200 laborers, and a proper complement of priests as missionaries, to Elmina. They arrived, and on the 19th of January, landed, and celebrated the first mass in Guinea. Prayer was offered for the conversion of the natives, and the perpetuity of the church about to be founded.

In 1484, John II. invited the powers of Europe to share with him the expense of these discoveries, and of "making conquests on the infidels," which tended to the common benefits of all; but they declined. He then obtained from the Pope a bull, confirming the former grant to Portugal, of all the lands they should discover from Cape Bojador to India, forbidding other nations to attempt discoveries in those parts of the world, and decreeing that if they should make any, the regions so discovered should belong to Portugal. From this time, the king of Portugal, in addition to his other titles, styled himself "Lord of Guinea."

The same year, Diego Cam passed the Bight of Benin, discovered Congo, and explored the coast to the twenty-second degree of south latitude. In a few years, a treaty was made with the king of Congo, for the conversion of himself and his kingdom. The king and several of the royal family were baptized, but on learning that they must abandon polygamy, nearly all renounced their baptism. This led to a war, which ended in their submission to Rome.

About the same time, the king of Benin applied for missionaries, hoping thereby to draw Portuguese trade to his dominions. "But they being sent, the design was discovered not to be religion, but covetousness. For these heathens bought christened slaves; and the Portuguese, with the same avarice, sold them after being baptized, knowing that their new masters would oblige them to return to their old idolatry. This scandalous commerce subsisted till the religious king John III. forbade it, though to his great loss." Such was the character of the Portuguese in Guinea.

And here, for the sake of placing these events in their true connection with the history of the world, it may be well to state, that in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1492, Columbus made his first voyage to America. In 1493, May 2, Pope Alexander, "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge and apostolic power," granted to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, all countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered or might discover, on condition of their planting and propagating there the Christian faith. Another bull, issued the next day, decreed that a line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores, and extending from pole to pole, should divide the claims of Spain from those of Portugal; and in June, 1494, another bull removed this line of demarcation to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. In 1492, Vasco de Gama succeeded in reaching India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thence-

forth, the more splendid atrocities of the East and West Indies threw those on the coast of Guinea into the shade, and historians have recorded them with less minuteness; so that, from this time, we are unable to give names and dates with the same precision as heretofore. We know, however, that they continued to extend their intercourse with the natives, and their possessions along the coast.

It was some time previous to 1520, that one Bemoi came to Portugal, representing himself as the rightful king of the Jaloffs, and requesting aid against his rivals. To obtain it, he submitted to baptism, with twenty-four of his followers, and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of Portugal. Pedro Vaz de Cunna was sent out, with twenty caravels well manned and armed, to assist him, and to build a fort at the mouth of the Senegal. The fort was commenced; but Pedro found some pretext for quarrelling with Bemoi, and stabbed him to the heart. Intercourse, however, was soon established extensively with the Jaloffs, the Foulahs, and other races in that region; of whom the Portuguese, settling in great numbers among them, became the virtual lords. We find them subsequently in possession of forts or trading houses, or living as colonists, at the Rio Grande, Sierra Leone, probably at Gallinas, Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado, certainly at the Junk, Sestos and Sangwin on the coast of Liberia, at Cape Three Points, Axim, Elmina, and numerous other places on the Ivory, Gold and Slave Coasts. So universally predominant was their influence, that in the course of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became the common language of business, and was every where generally understood by such natives as had intercourse with foreigners. A few Portuguese words, such as "palaver," "fetish," and perhaps some others, remain in current use among the natives to this day.

Of the character of the Portuguese on the coast, some judgment may be formed from what has already been stated. It seems rapidly to have grown worse and worse. It was a place of banishment for criminals, convicted of various outrages, violence and robbery; a place where fugitives from justice sought and found a refuge; a place where adventurers who hated the restraints of law, sought freedom and impunity. "No wonder, therefore," says a writer who had been at Elmina, "that the histories of those times give an account of unparalleled violence and inhumanities perpetrated at the place by the Portuguese, whilst under their subjection, not only against the natives and such Europeans as resorted thither, but even amongst themselves." Bad as the native character originally was, Portuguese influence rapidly added to its atrocity. A series of wars, which commenced among them about this time, illustrates the character of both.

In 1515, or as some say, in 1505, the Cumbas from the interior, began to make plundering incursions upon the Capez, about Sierra Leone. The Cumbas were doubtless a branch of the Griegas, another division of whom emigrated, twenty or thirty years later, to the upper region on the Congo river, and there founded the kingdom of Ansiko, otherwise called Makoko, whose king ruled over thirteen kingdoms. "Their food," says Rees' *Cyclopedia*, Art. Ansiko, "is said to be human flesh, and human bodies are hung up for sale in their shambles. Conceiving that they have an absolute right to dispose of their slaves at pleasure, their prisoners of war are fattened, killed and eaten, or sold to butchers." Specimens of this cannibal race, from near the same region, have shown themselves within a very few years. The Cumbas, on invading the Capez, were pleased with the country, and resolved to settle there. They took possession of the most fertile spots, and cleared them of their inhabitants, by killing and eating some, and selling others to the Portuguese, who stood ready to buy them. In

1678, that is, 163 years or more from its commencement, this war was still going on.*

*These Giagas form one of the most horribly interesting subjects for investigation, in all history. In Western Africa, they extended their ravages as far south as Benguela. Their career in that direction seems to have been arrested by the great desert, sparsely peopled by the Damaras and Namaquas, extending from Benguela to the Orange River, and presenting nothing to plunder. In 1586, the missionary Santos found them at war with the Portuguese settlements on the Zambeze. He describes their ravages, but without giving dates, along the eastern coast for a thousand miles northward to Melinda, where they were repulsed by the Portuguese. Antonio Fernandez, writing from Abyssinia in 1609, mentions an irruption of the Galae, who are said to be the same people, though some dispute their identity. These Galae, "a savage nation, begotten of devils, as the vulgar report," he informs us, issued from their forests and commenced their ravages a hundred years before the date of his letter; that is, about the time of the invasion of Sierra Leone by the Cumbas. We find no express mention of their cannibalism; but in other respects they seem closely to resemble the Giagas. Thus we find them, from the commencement of the sixteenth century far into the seventeenth, ravaging the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and through thirty degrees of latitude. As to their original location, accounts differ. Some place it back of the northern part of Liberia. This was evidently one region from which they emigrated. Their migrations hence to Sierra Leone on the north and Congo and Benguela on the south, are recorded facts. Hence, under the name of Mani, Manez, or Monou, though comparatively few in numbers, they exercised a supremacy over and received tribute from the Quoijas, the Folgias, and all the maritime tribes from Sierra Leone almost to Cape Palmas. East of Cape Palmas, their cannibalism and general ferocity marked the character of the people quite down to the coast, especially along what was called the Malegentes (Bad People) and Quauqua coasts. The testimony is conclusive, that the Cumbas who invaded Sierra Leone and the Giagas of Ansiko and Benguela were from this region. According to other accounts, their origin was in the region on the eastern slope of the continent, from the upper waters of the Nile and the borders of Abyssinia, extending southward across the equator. In most regions, they appeared merely as roving banditti, remaining in a country only long enough to reduce it to desolation. Every where the Giagas themselves were few, but had numerous followers, who were of the same ferocious character. Every where, except perhaps among the Galae, they had the same practice of making scars on their faces by way of ornament. Every where they practiced the same cannibalism. On taking the city of Quiloo, a little south of Zanzibar, they butchered "three thousand Moors, for future dainties, to eat at leisure." Every where their religion was substantially the same, consisting mainly in worshipping the devil when about to commence an expedition. They had various names, some of which have been already mentioned. In the east, the were also called Mumbos, Zimbab, and Muzimbab. In the same region, and the vicinity of Congo, they were also called Jagges, Gagas, Giachi, and it was said, called themselves Agags. Compare also, of terms still in use, the Gallas, a savage people on the south of Abyssinia, who are doubtless the Galae of Fernandez; the Golahs, formerly written Galas, north east of Monrovia, in the Monou region, of whose connection with the Giagas, however, there appears to be no other evidence; and the Munbo Jumbo, or fictitious devil, with whom the priests overawe the superstitious in the whole region south of the Gambia. Their followers, in eastern Africa, were called Caffres; but perhaps the word was used in its original Arabic sense, as meaning infidels. Near the Congo, their followers were called Ansikos, and their principal chief, "the great Makoko," which some have mistaken for a national designation. Here, also, Imbe was a title of office among them, while in the east it was applied to the whole people. In Angola they were called Gindae. Whether any traces of them still remain in Eastern Africa, or around Congo and Benguela, we are too ignorant of those regions to decide. In the region of Liberia, there can be no doubt on the subject. American missionaries at Cape Palmas have seen and conversed with men from the interior, who avow without hesitation their fondness for human flesh, and their habit of eating it. On the Cavally river, the eastern boundary of Cape Palmas, the cannibal region begins some twenty, thirty or forty miles from the coast, and extends northward, in the rear of Liberia, indefinitely. Farther east, it approaches and perhaps reaches the coast. In this region, prisoners of war and sometimes slaves are still slain for food. Here, too, slaves are sacrificed at the ratification of a treaty, and trees are planted to mark the spot and serve as records of the fact. Such trees have been pointed out to our missionaries, by men who were present when they were planted. Compare, too, the human sacrifices of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the devil-worship of all Western Africa.—But after all, were the Giagas one race of men, as contemporary historians supposed? Or were they men of a certain character, then predominant through nearly all Africa south of the Great Desert?

(To be continued.)

LETTER FROM DR. MCGILL.

HARPER, August 22, 1844.

DR. JAMES HALL, *Home Agent, &c.*

Dear Sir,—Our colony and its affairs have undergone no material alteration since my last letter, except in the improvements and additional buildings erected by our new immigrants. These people now occupy their own houses, having left the Receptacle two months since. With two exceptions they are enjoying good health; one of these is likely to do well, the other, Abednego Contee, labours under a complaint which I fear must terminate fatally.

All of the *widow women* (five or six) have been furnished with dwelling-houses at considerable expense to your agent, and it is now to be hoped that (in the event their husbands cannot be rescued from slavery and induced to come out) they may speedily secure to themselves husbands, so as relieve your agent of all farther trouble on their account.

The health of the old colonists for the last three months has not been good. The irregularities in the seasons and weather have been productive of many complaints troublesome to the practitioner, but not in many instances fatal to the patient.

The natives occupying the town in our vicinity, show some disposition to remove to a greater distance from us; this is desirable, and we are exceedingly anxious that they should do so. We have long entertained the hope that our influence would so far operate favourably on them as to induce their abandonment of their savage customs and the adoption of civilized habits; but up to the present we regret no effect of this kind can be discovered; they are to a man polygamist, they murder each other constantly, and they scruple not at any act of dishonesty. There has been effected by missionaries and others some slight improvement in the young, but the bad influence exercised by their intimacy with their parents must exclude the hope of its permanency. If the young, after being civilized, were encouraged to become colonists, and to conduct and support themselves as virtuous ones, it would be an advantage to all parties; but unfortunately the missionaries do not encourage this, and are at last forced to see their labour spent in vain. A mongrel breed of half-civilized loafers, are turned out, who will not resume entirely the native habit and customs, nor adopt those of civilized men, and if not supported by the missionaries, must become a pest in community.

Although anxious for the removal of these natives from among us, we are averse to using compulsory measures, unless positively forced to it for our security. We wish it to be a kind of emigration like that of colonization, *voluntary*, and we doubt not but that they will yet find it to their advantage to go. Yellow Will, the government interpreter, has been discharged; he was found to have acted treacherously towards us in many instances, was perpetually engaged covertly in exciting, rather than using his influence to prevent the origination of difficulties between us. In consequence of his discharge he has removed from among us, and is now an open enemy, which is much better than his former profession of friendship. The former is regretted, but not feared.

Will has joined with Cragh, and commenced a town on the north side of Hoffman river, about a half mile up. It numbers about sixty houses.

We have every reason to hope that through the influence exercised by Cragh, (who I believe longs to clutch the regal sceptre of his brother) many men may be induced to remove. He is far more popular than the king, by whom he is looked upon with suspicion. Some two or three months since

Cragh called on me, and desired that I would write down, and deliver a message to Gov. Russwurm. "Ever since the arrival of Americans," said Cragh, "I have taken Gov. R. for my friend, but R. declares he has no friends among us. There are many rash and inconsiderate men among the Americans, who possessing neither authority nor influence, are loud in their denunciation against us Africans, but Gov. Russwurm and other influential persons, actuated by feelings of justice, condemn such proceedings as improper.—So likewise with my people, some of them are violent and outrageous, I am, and ever have been opposed to them and their indiscretions and pronounce them wrong. Placed as we are, in contact with American Colonists, being to a certain degree dependent on them, and looking up to them for support and protection, we think, or rather expect of them, that when our ignorant people improperly interfere with them or their affairs, or use measures to interrupt the regular communication of more remote tribes with the colony, that we should be made sensible of its injustice, and required to amend our ways, instead of being avoided as a people unworthy of trust or confidence. On the other hand, if we are in any way subjected to wrong or injury from other tribes, we expect the governor, as our friend and ally, will take our part, enquire into, and have our wrongs redressed. I do not entertain hard feelings against Gov. R. nor any of the colonists, from whom I have ever received tokens of respect and consideration. I am averse to disturbing the Americans in any way. I am often led to reflect on the great inconveniences we laboured under previous to the establishment of the colony for the want of tobacco to smoke, of iron for our axes, and of clothes for ourselves and women, all of which are now procured with ease and in abundance. I have never in my life been engaged in any altercation with Americans; I am younger than my brother the king, and of course possessed of less influence, still I am opposed to the lawless confusion, and the irregularities which my brother suffers to go unpunished, even without using some vigorous measures for their effectual suppression. Disgusted with his inefficiency or disinclination to suppress them, and seeing that their continuance must eventually tend to strife between us and the Americans, I have determined on removing to a greater distance from you, so that in the event of a war I may remain a neutral spectator. My people say that it is because I am the favourite of Governor Russwurm, that he is constantly granting me favours which are denied others; whilst in reality I have fallen so low in his estimation in consequence of some imagined injury, that I am now hardly noticed. Tell the Governor not to be angry with me, I was not engaged with those who interrupted the Saurika people, nor was it encouraged by me. I am not king, cannot with my single voice control every man,—and as I see no other way of averting the calamities which must follow our persistence in wrong, must use every effort to induce all to remove; but softly! when I remove, of which you will soon be informed, no one will remain behind. Tell this to Gov. Russwurm. I have done."

In order to explain the motives which induced Cragh to deliver this message, it is necessary to state that the Saurika people had been repeatedly robbed and beaten by the Cape Palmas people, on the road to our colony. The Governor often complained of it, without producing any change of conduct. The Saurikas thereupon threatened them with war, and the Governor refused to exert his influence to set the palaver; so far from it, he expressed much indignation that they should have interrupted our trade, and declared their removal from among us was desirable; he would neither consent to advise nor assist them in their perplexity, and kept all the head-men at a distance. Under the apprehension of danger on all sides, Cragh (who is

our bitter enemy, but a noble fellow, who is by me admired for his intelligence and frankness) thought it safest to have the river and an half mile of sea-beach between himself and our "peace-makers," so that he might have the choice of fighting or running away.

I was induced to copy the entire message, in order that you may form some opinion of the "unsophisticated African." It strikes me that Cragh would prove no insignificant minister to a foreign court—he so carefully conceals his real intentions, and attempts to deceive with regard to them.

(From the Liberia Herald of September 30th.)

DIED AT NEW GEORGIA, on the 29th ult. Alexander Bartlett, of that incurable and dreaded malady called the *Sleepy disease*.

Alexander Bartlett was a native African—of the Congo tribes—a *recaptive* restored to liberty by the United States Government. While in America under the temporary servitude to which he and his companions were subjected he became a subject of divine grace—was baptized and joined a Baptist Church in Savanna, in the State of Georgia. In 1826 he was sent to the Colony. Immediately on his arrival he attached himself to the Baptist Church in this place then under the pastorate of Rev. Lott Cary.

When the *recaptives* were removed to New Georgia, and settled by themselves, Bro. Bartlett removed with them, and was among those who following the advice of the brethren here were erected into a separate and independent church in 1835, with which he maintained undisturbed fellowship up to the period of his decease.

Bro. Bartlett unquestionably had no equal in intellectual ability among his compatriots. His mind until shaken by disease was of the firmest texture, and his acuteness and penetration and ability to comprehend a subject was frequently a subject of remark with those who conversed with him. He had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge—a desire so strong as to render him inquisitive to a degree at times really annoying, and which steeled him against shame to ask the humblest question of the humblest individual; whilst the gratitude with which he received information seemed entitled to be held equivalent to all the annoyance involved in communicating it.

Bro. Bartlett made some proficiency in book learning. His first lesson in letters was received under the auspices of the Rev. Lott Cary—he was farther improved in the school of the Ladies of Philadelphia, taught by the Rev. Mr. Eden, at New Georgia, and when that school was discontinued he entered the school of the M. E. Church, conducted at the same place by Mr. Gripon. Bro. B. could read English with correctness—much more correctly (in the sense of understanding what he read) than those not acquainted with him would, from his imperfect orthoepy, suppose: and he also wrote a fair legible hand. Recently Bro. B. was almost the only scholar in New Georgia, and consequently he filled of necessity most of the civil and municipal offices there whose duties required writing. Such was the estimation in which he was held by his fellow citizens that he was last year elected to the Colonial Legislature—unfortunately for him however; for it was precisely at that period that his mind yielded to the pressure of disease.

But while we yield a ready and hearty commendation to the eager ardor which the deceased sought improvement, and indulge in gratification at his success, it is his consistent christian character that attracts esteem. His efforts to serve the church of which he was a member, and lately a deacon—though humble were unceasing. His conduct seemed to say I have received much, therefore let me evince my gratitude by doing what I can in return. I have a talent committed to me which cannot lie idly and I be guiltless—

therefore let me work while it is day. His, was the faithfulness of deep sincerity—the meekness of a will subdued and chastened by grace. His piety was unobtrusive, but constant and fervent—the steady and uniform heat of a glowing coal rather than the fitful and temporary blaze of the burning stubble. The last labors of his life were for the church. The old meeting house had become dangerous from decay. The church had resolved to erect a new one on another lot. The members being poor felt themselves unable without aid to complete it in any short time. Bro. B. was appointed to solicit assistance from all in the different villages who might be inclined to favour the enterprise. In execution of this trust, as long as he had strength to move he was to be found going from village to village, and from house to house, with his paper in his hand begging for the *good cause*.

Bro. B. was not only a deacon but a licensed preacher, and as such relieved us of much of the burden of the pastorate. His end was what the scriptures have promised the end of such a man shall be—peace. The light of reason was temporarily obscured by the gloomy clouds of disease; but ere the night of death closed in, the mists fled; a serene and cloudless sky canopied the soul, which shone forth with the splendor of meridian manhood, and then gently subsided below the horizon of life.

A mighty congress of crowned-heads or tailed-hands is now in session at Sugary. It is said the object is to restore peace to the region about Cape Mount. We have heard so long—and so much—*war done, war done*, that we should, had the belligerents not fought themselves into the condition of kilkenny cats, regard the diet as a ruse—a mere hocus pocus to gain a brief space of time and good eating. As it things are, they may be sincere, as they are *jam nigh* starved out.

BRITISH COMMISSIONER.

The American barque Adario, Capt. Brown, brought the British immigrant commissioner, R. G. Butts Esq. of Demerara. We have had some conversation with Mr. Butts, who we are happy to say manifests a lively interest in the colony. Indeed we think the peculiar position and character of this community, as well as its objects, need only be properly understood to attract the sympathy of every philanthropic heart. The representations of professed friends and patrons have been regarded with suspicion and received with great abatements, and the statements of enemies, of whom, strange to say, it has a host, have seemed to entitle it to any thing but favorable regard. We are therefore pleased with the visit of one, who, in what he may say about us in his report to his government will be regarded as uttering only the dictates of an impartial judgment.

As an opportunity will soon offer for Guiana, would it not be well to send one or two young men there for instruction in the culture and preparation of tropical production? Easy and satisfactory arrangements we are quite sure can be made for their sustentation while there, and for their return here when their object shall have been attained.

We delayed our paper to notice the arrival of His Excellency J. J. Roberts and suite.

The Governor arrived in the brig Echo on the 30th inst; and landed about 5 P. M. at the government wharf under a salute from Fort Norris, and was escorted thence to Government House by Captains McGill's and Draper's companies, the civil officers and a large number of citizens.—His Excellency is in good health.

Miss Johnson a teacher in the Seminary of the M. E. Mission came passenger in this vessel.

(From the Spirit of Missions.)

AFRICA.

The Rev. J. Smith and the Rev. S. Hazlehurst, Missionaries to Western Africa, arrived on Sunday, the 10th November, from Cape Palmas; the former having been absent five, and the latter two years from this country. The debilitating effects of so long a residence have rendered a respite from labour essential for Mr. Smith; and an attack of illness of the most serious and threatening character, to which Mr. Hazlehurst was subjected in July last, made it, in the eyes of all our Missionaries at the Station, a matter of imperative necessity that he also should, for a brief season, visit the United States.

The arrival of these gentlemen puts us in possession of interesting intelligence relating to the mission: in addition to which we have letters from Mr. Payne up to 24th August last.

The Missionaries who sailed from this port in May last, viz: the Rev. Dr. Savage, the Rev. Mr. Hening, Mrs. Hening, Mrs. Patch, and Miss Rutherford, arrived in safety at Cape Palmas in August. Their voyage had been protracted and not very pleasant: yet they had, without exception, been in the enjoyment of excellent health, and were preparing with great cheerfulness to enter upon their duties.

The various Missionary Stations in Western Africa were entirely relieved from the difficulties and anxieties which beset them towards the close of the last year. The Rev. Mr. Payne had returned to the Station at Cavalla; and had resumed his ministerial labours there with every prospect of enjoying "rest and quietness" from the assaults of the natives; and with cheering evidences that the seed scattered upon the most unpromising soil which the world presents, was, through the mighty power of the Spirit, bearing fruit which should break down the strongholds of Satan in that region. We subjoin copious extracts from his journal just received, which cannot fail to excite interest. We trust that the continual proof of the blessed effects which have followed the efforts of our Missionaries among the children of the Mission Schools, afforded by these letters, will induce the Church at home to go on ministering their aid to this work of mercy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COLONIZATION JOURNAL:

Sir,—In continuation of the subject of my last, I proceed to refer you to some, out of many motives, that induced the English and other European nations to emigrate and settle in this country, which I find recorded in Ramsay's History of the United States, first volume, page 223. "In the year 1603," says Ramsay, "the first emigrants from England, for colonizing America, left their mother country at a time when the dread of *arbitrary power* was the predominant passion of the English nation."

There is one thing in the above quotation I want you to notice, viz: the emigrants referred to were not sent away from England; neither were they stole or sold away, they left their mother country voluntarily, and embarked to a foreign country, where they might not only be freed from political and religious oppression, but where they could transmit the blessings of civil and religious liberty to their posterity.

But again. "The first permanent settlement effected in the vast extent of country, which now forms the thirteen old States, (says Ramsay) was in the month of April, 1607, two hundred thirty-seven years ago. These adventurers were empowered to transport thither as many English subjects as should **WILLINGLY** accompany them: and it was declared the colonists and

their children should enjoy the same liberty as if they had remained, or born within the realm." Now take notice, neither were any of those adventurers sent, sold, or stolen from their mother country. The commonest reader must discover their removal was voluntary, and of course understandingly, for the motive that actuated other adventurers—to establish and perpetuate for themselves and posterity political and religious liberty.

Once more. What prompted the Puritans to settle in this country? The answer is—Because they could not enjoy liberty of conscience in their mother country. Many of them preferred to make settlement in a dreary wilderness, three thousand miles from their native land, than to endure the persecutions they were constantly exposed to. They emigrated not only for the pecuniary advantage of agriculture or commerce, but also to transmit the blessing of civil and religious liberty to their posterity.

What was the condition of the Africans on their being brought to this country—under what circumstances were they migrated hither? We find it stated in Ramsey's History just quoted, "The colonists began to form more extensive plans of industry, when they were unexpectedly furnished with means of executing them with greater facility. A Dutch ship from the Coast of Guinea, having in 1620 sailed up James river, sold a part of her cargo of slaves to the planters. These Africans were found more able than the Europeans to endure fatigue under a sultry climate, their numbers were increased by successive importations.

Thus it is clear beyond contradiction, that enterprising motives led the English and other European nations to settle in this country. It is equally clear, the Africans in the onset were brought to this country without consulting their own wishes.

In my next letter to you, I shall attempt to set forth the intellectual progress of the Africans and their descendants, since their sojourn in this land; also, what seems to me to be the ultimate destiny of said race. I doubt whether you will hear from me again till 1st January, 1845.

Yours, respectfully,

GARRISON DRAPER.

A TEACHER WANTED.

The Board of Managers of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church are anxious to procure the services of a competent teacher, to act as Principal of the Monrovia Seminary in Liberia. He must possess a thorough English education, and be able to teach the Greek and Latin languages, with the higher branches of Mathematics. He must be a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and it is desirable that he be a local preacher. A single man would be preferred; but a small family will not be an insuperable objection. He will be expected to show satisfactory recommendations, both as regards his literary qualifications and good standing in the Church.

Address the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, No. 200 Mulberry street, New York.

C. PITMAN, Cor. Sec.

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION.—Susan J. Gott, West River, Md. \$8 00

